

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MONROV 04770 01 OF 03 121648Z  
ACTION PM-04

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ISO-00 MC-02 ACDA-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00  
IGA-02 AID-05 EB-07 DHA-02 COME-00 GSA-02 EUR-12  
ARA-10 NEA-10 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 L-03 SS-15  
NSC-05 SP-02 DODE-00 /107 W  
-----022850 121840Z /43

R 121514Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5466

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 MONROVIA 4770

E.O. 11652 GDS  
TAGS: MASS, XX, LI  
SUBJECT: LIBERIA: ASSESSMENT OF U.S. SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM  
FOR FY 79

REFS: (A) STATE 133136 (B) MONROVIA 3847 (C) MONROVIA 4305

THE FOLLOWING IS A JOINT EMBASSY/U.S. MILITARY MISSION RESPONSE TO  
REFTEL A. THE NOTATIONS IN PARENTHESISE REFER TO RELEVANT PARA-  
GRAPHS IN THAT REFTEL.

1. (PARA 3) THE CONTINUANCE OF A SECURITY ASSISTANCE RELATION-  
SHIP WITH LIBERIA HELPS TO SUPPORT THE FOLLOWING U.S. INTERESTS:  
(A) THE LOCATION LIBERIAN SOIL OF DIPLOMATIC TELE-  
COMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES SERVING 26 EMBASSIES IN SUB-SAHARAN  
AFRICA, OF VOA RELAY TRANSMITTERS REACHING ALL OF AFRICA AND  
PARTS OF EASTERN EUROPE, LATIN AMERICA AND ASIA AND SLATED FOR  
EXPANSION; AND OF AN OMEGA TRANSMITTER;

(B) THE GRANTING TO THE U.S. BY FORMAL AGREEMENT OF ACCESS

RIGHTS TO ROBERTSFIELD IN A NATIONAL EMERGENCY, RIGHTS WHICH  
HAVE BEEN EXTENDED MOST RECENTLY IN CONNECTION WITH U.S.  
OPERATIONS IN ANGOLA AND ZAIRE. IT IS LIKELY, ALSO, THAT  
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PAGE 02 MONROV 04770 01 OF 03 121648Z

IN CASE OF NEED U.S. NAVAL VESSELS WOULD BE GRANTED USE OF THE  
PORT OF MONROVIA;

(C) IMPORTANT TRADE AND INVESTMENT (TOTAL U.S. PRIVATE  
INVESTMENT IS AROUND 3/4 OF A BILLION DOLLARS IN FAIR MARKET  
VALUE), A CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF WHICH IS DEVOTED TO DEVELOP-  
MENT OF STRATEGIC IRON ORE AND RUBBER RESOURCES;

(D) THE CONSISTENTLY MODERATE APPROACH, OFTEN IN SUPPORT OF U.S. POSITIONS, TAKEN BY THE GOL ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES; AND  
(E) CONCRETE DEMONSTRATION THAT THE U.S. WILL STAND BY ITS OLDEST FRIEND, AND INDEED, CREATION, IN AFRICA.

THUS, SPECIFIC SECURITY ASSISTANCE OBJECTIVES INCLUDE:

(A) MAINTENANCE OF ACCESS TO COMMUNICATIONS AND AIRFIELD FACILITIES WHICH ENHANCE OUR ABILITY TO PROJECT U.S. INFLUENCE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA AND THE SOUTH ATLANTIC LINES OF COMMUNICATION;

(B) PROMOTION OF THE KIND OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES WHICH WILL RESULT IN AS BROAD GOL SUPPORT AS POSSIBLE FOR U.S. POSITIONS;

(C) IMPROVEMENT OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF LIBERIA'S MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT, WITH EMPHASIS ON RAISING PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS OF THE OFFICER CORPS, ON TRAINING, AND ON DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS; AND

(D) PRESERVATION OF U.S. ACCESS TO LIBERIA'S NATURAL RESOURCES.

2. MY OWN PERSONAL VIEW OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO LIBERIA  
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PAGE 03 MONROV 04770 01 OF 03 121648Z

IS THAT IT MEETS PRESIDENT CARTER'S CRITERIA FOR SUCH ASSISTANCE. WE ARE LIBERIA'S TRADITIONAL SECURITY ASSISTANCE PARTNER. THE AMOUNTS INVOLVED ARE MODERATE AND THE GOL VIEW OF ITS MILITARY NEEDS IS MODEST. THE MATERIEL SUPPLIED THROUGH U.S. ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IS AT A LOW LEVEL OF SOPHISTICATION AND WITH LITTLE OR NO ARMS CONTROL IMPACT. FURTHERMORE THE U.S. IS THE ONLY COUNTRY FROM WHICH LIBERIA PRESENTLY SEEKS MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND PRESIDENT TOLBERT IS ON RECORD THAT HE WISHES THE SITUATION TO REMAIN THIS WAY. WITH REGARD TO HUMAN RIGHTS, LIBERIA IS SURELY ONE OF THE MORE "OPEN" SOCIETIES, A COUNTRY WHICH SHARES OUR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC VALUES, A SOCIETY THAT IS CHARACTERIZED BY A MINIMUM OF GOVERNMENTAL INTERFERENCE IN THE PERSONAL AFFAIRS OF ITS CITIZENS. PRESIDENT TOLBERT HAS BEEN AN ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORTER OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS TO FOCUS WORLD-WIDE ATTENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. HE IS ONE OF THE FEW AFRICAN LEADERS WILLING TO TELL AFRICAN STATES THAT THEY MUST BE CONCERNED ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN BLACK AFRICA. IN SUM, THE SIGNIFICANT NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS WE HAVE IN THIS COUNTRY, THE MODESTY OF OUR SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM HERE, THE PART IT PLAYS IN OUR TRADITIONAL AND UNIQUE RELATIONS, AND THE SIMILARITY OF OUR VIEWS ON GLOBAL ISSUES INCLUDING HUMAN RIGHTS, CLEARLY DEMONSTRATE, IN MY VIEW, THAT THE TRANSFERS CONTRIBUTE TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY

INTERESTS.

3. (PARA 4A) ON MAY 6, 1977 PRESIDENT TOLBERT, IN A CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR CARTER, DESCRIBED THE EXTERNAL THREAT TO LIBERIA IN THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

" WE HAVE BORDERING US TWO COUNTRIES IN WHICH COMMUNISTS HAVE INFILTRATED AND HAVE SOME INFLUENCE. YOU CAN NEVER TELL WHAT WILL ARISE THROUGH COMMUNIST INFLUENCE. WE ARE VERY WATCHFUL. WE ARE ALWAYS ALERT. NOW AND THEN WE HAVE SOME INDICATIONS THEY WANT TO INFILTRATE THROUGH SOURCES IN OUR COUNTRY. BUT WE ARE PREPARED TO COPE WITH IT. WE SHOULD BE PREPARED T COPE ON ANY LEVEL. I TRY TO KEEP GOOD RELATIONS WITH MY NEIGHBORS, SO THAT IT WOULD BE EMBARRASSING TO THEM TO CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 MONROV 04770 01 OF 03 121648Z

TAKE ACTION AGAINST US. I AM NOT ONLY THINKING OF MY PRESIDENCY. AFTER SIX YEARS SOMETHING MIGHT HAPPEN. I WANT TO SECURE THIS THING FOR THE FUTURE....THERE IS NO IMMEDIATE THREAT, BY YOU PREPARE FOR WAR IN TIME OF PEACE. WE HAVE A LIBERIAN SAYING THAT ONE MUST PROP UP THE BANANA TREE BEFORE THE STORM COMES".

A FOREIGN MINISTRY NOTE MAY 27 (REFTEL B) DESCRIBED THE GOL CONCEPTION OF ITS EXTERNAL THREAT IN THE FOLLOWING TERMS:  
"LIBERIA STANDS AT THE CROSS-ROADS IN AFRICA BETWEEN MANY FORCES OF COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM; EAST AND WEST; THE SYSTEM OF STATE

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PAGE 01 MONROV 04770 02 OF 03 121747Z  
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R 121514Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5467

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 MONROVIA 4770

CONTROL AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY; AND ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY.

IN RECENT YEARS THESE PRESSURES HAVE CONVERGED WITH GREAT INTENSITY ON OUR COUNTRY AND THE SITUATION URGENTLY REQUIRES CONTROL IF WE MUST REMAIN A PART OF THE FREE WORLD, ENJOYING THE BLESSINGS OF ALMIGHTY GOD IN THE CONTINUED EXERCISE OF OUR INALIENABLE RIGHTS AS A NATION...IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, IT IS NO SECRET THAT COMMUNISM HAS TAKEN A STRONG HOLD AND IN SOME INSTANCES WITH THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF THE SOVIET BLOC DIRECTLY AND WITH THE SUPPORT OF CUBA AND SOME ARABS. IT IS FURTHER WELL KNOWN THAT ONE OF THE TACTICS IS PROVOCATION AND THEY HAVE SPARED NO OPPORTUNITY IN PREPARING THEMSELVES FOR EXPANSION ON THIS CONTINENT...ON ACCOUNT OF ALL THESE PRESSURES IT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY THAT...WE MUST AT LEAST POSSESS THE MINIMUM DEFENSE CAPABILITY TO PROTECT OURSELVES AGAINST AN ATTACK FROM WITHOUT. WE THEREFORE REQUIRE A SMALL BUT EFFECTIVE ARMY WITH ORDINARY AND REGULAR CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS NOT ONLY AS A DETERRENT BUT A MEANS OF PROTECTING THIS HEGEMONY. IN A RECENT SURVEY EXECUTED BY THE LIBERIAN MINISTRY OF DEFENSE WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE U.S. MILITARY MISSION TO LIBERIA, IT HAS BEEN DISCOVERED THAT A DEPLORABLE SITUATION EXISTS IN OUR DEFENCE..." IN SUMMARY, THE GOL ATTEMPTS TO REMAIN ON GOOD TERMS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS BUT IS EXTREMELY CONCERNED OVER THE OBVIOUS WEAKNESSES OF ITS ARMY. THE GOL IS APPREHENSIVE PARTIC-  
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PAGE 02 MONROV 04770 02 OF 03 121747Z

ULARLY OVER ITS NEIGHBOR GUINEA, NOTING THE CLOSE ALIGNMENT OF THE GOL WITH COMMUNIST NATIONS; THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNIST MILITARY AND SECURITY ADVISORS, AND EVIDENCE THAT DISCIPLINE AND TRAINING WITHIN THE GUINEAN ARMED AND SECURITY FORCES ARE IMPROVING STEADILY.

THE EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT IN THEIR PRESENT STATE THE ARMED FORCES OF LIBERIA CONSTITUTE MORE AN INVITATION THAN A DETERRENT TO MILITARY ADVENTURES OR BORDER PROBINGS BY NEIGHBORS. WHEN THE GOL SEES CHAD AND ZAIRE SUBJECT TO MILITARY PRESSURES FROM COMMUNISTZEBECKED NEIGHBORS, IT IS NOT UNREASONABLY CONCERNED OVER ITS OWN FUTURE. THE EMBASSY BELIEVES TO BE REASONABLE THE PRESENT GOL POLICY OF MAINTAINING A FRIENDLY STANCE TOWARD ALL NEIGHBORS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ATTEMPTING TO MAKE SOMETHING MORE EFFECTIVE OUT OF ITS UNTRAINED, UNPROFESSIONAL AND POORLY DISCIPLINED ARMED FORCES. AS NOTED IN REFTEL ?, THE GOL APPEARS DETERMINED TO REVITALIZE THE AFL AND SEEKS U.S. ADVICE AND MATERIEL SUPPORT.

4. (PARA 4B) INTELLIGENCE CONCERNING THE MILITARY INTENTIONS OF GUINEA AND SIERRA LEONE IS LIMITED. GUINEA DOES POSSESS THE CAPABILITY IN TERMS OF NUMBERS OF MEN UNDER ARMS AND EQUIPMENT TO POSE A REAL THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF LIBERIA. IN CASE OF A

DISPUTE BETWEEN GUINEA AND LIBERIA, ANY THREAT OF THE USE OF FORCE BY GUINEA WOULD HAVE NO CREDIBLE RESPONSE FROM THE LIBERIAN ARMED FORCES. THE EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT CONTINUED SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO THE GOL, BACKED BY MINIMAL ADVISORY SUPPORT, SERVES THE PURPOSE OF MAINTAINING THE STABILITY AND CONFIDENCE OF A STATE IN WEST AFRICA IN WHICH WE HAVE IMPORTANT INTERESTS.

5. (PARA 4C) THE GOL VIEW OF ITS MILITARY NEEDS IS MODEST. PRESIDENT TOLBERT TOLD AMBASSADOR CARTER MAY 6 THAT "WE DON'T WANT TO MOVE INTO EMORMOUS EXPENSES, BUT WE NEED EQUIPMENT. CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 MONROV 04770 02 OF 03 121747Z

IT IS NOT THAT WE WANT PRESITIGIOUS SPENDING OR TO COMPETE, BUT WE WANT TO HAVE A STANDING ARMY OF NUMBER OF MEN, TRAINED, DISCIPLINED AND PREPARED TO CARRY OUT AN ARMY'S WORK, NOT A SHAM...IT SHOULD BE SMALL BUT CAPABLE." THE AFL IN COORDINATION WITH THE USMM RECENTLY COMPLETED A REORGANIZATION STUDY OF THE AFL WHICH CALLS FOR A TOTAL STRENGTH OF 6,100 IN THE NATIONAL GUARD (EQUIVALENT OF THE ARMY) AND 270 MEN IN TEH NATIONAL COAST GUARD (EQUIVALENT OF THE NAVY). THE NATIONAL GUARD IS PRESENTLY COMPOSED OF TWO INFANTRY (LINE) BATTALIONS; TWO BORDER GUARD BATTALIONS, AN INTERIOR GUARD BATTALION, A FIELD ARTILLERY BATTALION, AND AN EXECUTIVE MANSION BATTALION. INADDITION THERE ARE THE HEADQUARTERS, SERVICE SUPPORT, LOGISTICS, TRAINING, ENGINEER, AVIATION RECONNAISSANCE AND SIGNAL UNITS. THERE IS NO SOPHISTICATED MILITARY EQUIPMENT INVOLVED. THE FORCE WOULD PRESENT NO OFFENSIVE THREAT TO ITS NEIGHBORS AND DOES NOT CONSTITUTE AN IMBALANCE IN THE FORCES OF THE REGION. WE CONSIDER THAT THIS IS THE LOWEST LEVEL OF COMBAT FORCE DEEMED CAPABLE OF RESPONDING TO THE POTENTIAL EXTERNAL THREAT.

6. (PARA 4D) THE DEFENSE ARTICLES AND SERVICES REQUIRED TO SUPPORT THE ABOVE ORGANIZATION DURING FY 79 FOLLOW. NOTE THAT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF IMET ALL ITEMS ARE TO BE PURCHASED EITHER THROUGH FMS CASH OR CREDIT OR THROUGH COMMERCIAL PURCHASE. THE PROGRAM FOR FY 79 PURCHASES ARE A PART OF A TOTAL PROGRAM OF PURCHASES DESIGNED TO COMPLETELY RE-EQUIP AND MODERNIZE THE AFL BY 1983. THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA IS REQUESTING A LOAN \$6.5 MILLION TO FINANCE THE TOTAL MODERNIZATION PROGRAM. THE FY 79 PORTION IS EXPECTED TO CAST APPROXIMATELY \$3.5 MILLION. ALL ITEMS LISTED SERVE U.S. INTERESTS BY INSURING THAT THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA CAN DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST ANY EXPECTED THREAT WITHOUT NEEDING TO REQUEST EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE FROM THE U.S.

SPECIFIC DEFENSE ARTICLES AND SERVICES LIST - FY 79  
- LIBERIA

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PAGE 04 MONROV 04770 02 OF 03 121747Z

PRIORITY DEFENSE ARTICLES AMT/\$ MIL HOW PURCHASED

1 WEAPONS

RIFLE, M-16A1 5.56MM 976/.305 COMM CREDIT  
W/BAYONET, 5 EXTRA  
MAGAZINES, BLANK ADAPTERS

HBAR RIFLE M16 W/BIPOD 193/.07 COMM CREDIT

GRENADE LAUNCHER M203 335/.08 COMM CRIDIT

MORTAR 60MM 17/.01 COMM CREDIT

FLAME THROWER M202 30/.03 COMM CREDIT

MACHINE GUN M60 18/.04 COMM CREDIT

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 MONROV 04770 03 OF 03 121758Z

ACTION PM-04

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ISO-00 MC-02 ACDA-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00

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SP-02 NSC-05 DODE-00 /107 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5468

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 MONROVIA 4770

PRIORITY DEFENSE ARTICLES AMT/\$ MIL HOW PURCHASED

2 AMMUNITION 1.2 FMS OR COMM  
CREDIT

3 SUPPLIES 1.5 FMS OR COMM  
CASH & CREDIT

4 COMMUNICATIONS .12 FMS CREDIT  
EQUIPMENT

5 TRAINING /.15 IMET

6 GROUND MOBILITY

WHEELED ARMORED PERSONNEL 6/.24 FMS CREDIT  
CARRIER

TRUCK 1/4 TON 15/.12 FMS CRDIT

TRUCK 2 1/2 TON 12/.30 FMS OR COMM  
CREDIT

7 SUPPORT EQUIPMENT

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PAGE 02 MONROV 04770 03 OF 03 121758Z

UNDERGROUND FUEL 18/.2 COMM CREDIT  
TANKS

CONSTRUCTION EQUIP /.1 COMM CREDIT

8 AIRCRAFT

CESSNA 337 1/.25 COMM CREDIT#

# - COMM CREDIT IMPLIES A COMMERCIAL PURCHASE FINANCED WITH  
LOAN FUNDS ADVANCED OR GRARANTEED BY THE USG.

7. PARA 4E) A STUDY CONDUCTED BY THE USAID MISSIO  
N IN LIBERIA  
(REFTTEL C) CONCLUDED THAT "DEFENSE EXPENDITURES DO NOT HAVE A  
SIGNIFICANT EFFECT ON THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA'S ECONOMY AND  
DEVEOPMENTAL PLANS. EQUIPMENT PROCURED BY THE MINISTRY OF  
DEFENSE HAS BEEN USED IN SOME CIVIL WORK PROJECTS THAT HAVE  
MADE A CONTRIBUTION TO THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC/SOCIAL DEVELOP-  
MENT. THE MEAGER BUDGET OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE IS BASICALLY  
SUPPORTED BY THE LIBERIAN ECONOMY." WITH THE PROPOSED PURCHASES  
FOR FY 79 THE DEFENSE BUDGET WOULD APPROXIMATE \$7.0 MILLION RO ONLY  
4.4 PERCENT OF THE BUDGET. TEN PERCENT OF THE BUDGET WOULD  
NOT BE AN UNREASONABLE AMOUNT TO MAINTAIN A MODEST PROFFESIONAL  
FORCE.

8. (PARA 4F) ONLY ONE OR TWO USG OR CIVILIAN CONTRACT  
PERSONNEL IN EXCESS OF USMM PERSONNEL FOR A WEEK AT A TIME  
WOULD BE EXPECTED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY OF THE PROPOSED SLAES.  
NO PROBLEMS WOULD BE COUSED BY THEIR PRESENCE.

9. (PARA 4G) BECAUSE OF THE LOW LEVEL SOPHISTICATION OF THE

MATERIEL BEING SOUGHT, NUMEROUS OTHER COUNTRIES CAN PROVIDE  
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PAGE 03 MONROV 04770 03 OF 03 121758Z

EQUIVALENT EQUIPMENT AND BASED UPON LIBERIA'S FAST DEBT SERVICING RECORD THEY SHOULD BE ABLE TO OBTAIN CREDIT FROM OTHER COUNTRIES. PRESIDENT TOLBERT HAS STATED HIS DESIRE THAT THE U.S. BE THE SOLE SOURCE OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND DOCTRINE, BUT COULD BE FORCED TO CONSIDER OTHER SOURCES IF USG ASSISTANCE IS NOT FORTHCOMING. A CHANGE FROM THE TRADITIONAL U.S. - LIBERIAN RELATIONSHIP CONCERNING MILITARY COOPERATION OWULD BE INIMICAL TO U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS.

10. (PARA 4 H) DUE TO THE LOW LEVEL OF SOPHISTICATION OF THE ARMS INVOLVED, THE FACT THAT THE SALES CONSTITUTE A MODERNIZATION OF LIBERIA'S ARMED FORCE AND NOT AN ENLARGEMENT OF THEIR ARMED FORCES, AND THE FACT THAT OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION ARE COMPARABLY EQUIPPED, THERE WOULD BE NO ARMS CONTROL IMPACT OF THE PROPOSED SALES AND NO IMBALANCE CREATED IN THE FORCES OF THE REGION.

11. (PARA 4K) TYPES OF IMET TRAINING THAT SHOULD BE PROGRAMMED FOR LIBERIA ARE MID TO HIGH LEVEL COMMAND, STAFF AND MANAGEMENT ORIENTED TRAINING. ATTENDANCE AT U.S. SERVICE SCHOOL ADVANCE COURSES, USACGSC AND ADVANCED MANAGEMENT AND LOGISTICS COURSES ARE DEEMED APPROPRIATE FOR LIBERIAN OFFICERS IDENTIFIED FOR HIGH LEVLE COMMAND AND STAFF POSTIONS. CARTER

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## Message Attributes

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**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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